Alcoholic Beverages

493 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village [366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

493 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
494 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies,
[850] cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, [262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

493 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

494 Import stores (hyakuhō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
511 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its [442] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (sumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimari is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him.

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
429 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis
[178] of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437• 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [864]